

CRACK CONTROL OF C.P. IN FOOD UNION ELECTION

Progressives Win Two Chief Posts in Sharp Contest

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)
NEW YORK, April 12.—Progressives in Local 16 of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union, A.F.L., won the posts of president and vice-president in a hotly contested campaign against the Stalinists during the annual elections held here yesterday.

Dave Siegal defeated the wrecking crew's candidate, Harry Lee, for president and John Green led the progressives to victory over Lee's henchman, Alex Markowitz for the second highest post in the Local.

The Communist Party candidate for secretary-treasurer, William Albertson, managed to squeeze through by a meagre 450 votes out of a total of 3,600 cast. All the places on the executive board and the list of business agents were fiercely contested, the Stalinists winning all these posts by a manipulation of the union machinery in their control but by as little as 5 and even 3 votes.

Election Issues Clear
The issues of the election were clear-cut. On the one side, the progressives fought against recognition of the union-busting bosses' Guild, against compulsory arbitration, for security on the job, against Stalinist terrorism and intimidation and for the democratic rights of the members.

On the other hand, the Stalinist wrecking crew and the remnants of the Coulicher racketeering gang came out for recognition of the Guild and compulsory arbitration. The only way they were able to maintain their hold on the union, although they were badly shaken up, was by intimidation, terror and job control.

But the results of the election show that these strong-arm and machine methods will not forever keep the membership down. The victory of the progressives in the posts of president and vice-president—where their candidates most clearly symbolized the programmatic character of the struggle—shows that the ice has begun to crack.

AKRON YIPSELS REJECTING DEAL ASK JURY TRIAL

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

AKRON, O., April 13.—Akron branch of the Young People's Socialist League (Fourth International) intensified its jobs for youth campaign today by picketing district N.Y.A. offices and distributing leaflets, despite school and police attempts to hamper its activities.

Meanwhile, the Y.P.S.L. prepared its case against the school officialdom and police by demanding a jury trial for five youths who were arrested March 31, while distributing leaflets of the Y.P.S.L.

Members of the Akron Industrial Union Council, central body of the C.I.O., eagerly took Yipsel labor leaflets explaining their position on the arrests. Several delegates pledged solidarity with the youth in their fight to preserve and extend labor's democratic rights.

City Offers Deal
The Police Prosecutor intimated that he would recommend "leniency" in their cases if the youths would promise to be good boys henceforth. Such leniency would have meant only that the five defendants would have been found guilty and the judge would have suspended their fines.

In a press statement, the Y.P.S.L. declared that J. Ray Stine, principal of Central High School where the arrests were made, was the real prosecutor in the case and that they demanded a jury trial as the only means of attempting to obtain justice.

Former G.P.U. Head Exposes Stalin Record Of Treachery in Spanish Loyalist Struggle

BARCELONA MAY DAY UPRISING DELIBERATELY PROVOKED BY MOSCOW AGENTS

(Continued from Page 1)
as a *lavochka*—a "gyp joint"—and this epithet was its nickname in high Soviet circles.

Degeneration of the Comintern

"From being the intended torch of flaming world revolution the Comintern had degenerated to a more or less useful adjunct to Stalin's foreign policy. At his convenience he could use his *lavochka* in any foreign country, to stir up, perhaps, some internal trouble for an unfriendly government or to affect public opinion on any international question.

"In 1935 he brought the Comintern into play by launching the new policy of the 'popular front.' In every democratic country the obedient members of the Communist Party dropped their opposition to the ruling government and, in the name of 'democracy,' joined forces with other political parties. The technique was to elect, with the aid of their 'fellow travelers' and their dupes, national administrators friendly to the Soviet Union. In France, the 'popular front' had elevated Leon Blum to power. But it was Blum who, with the backing of London, launched the policy of nonintervention in Spain.

"Five years of costly propaganda, aided by all the turmoil of the revolution, had produced in Spain a total of only 3,000 Communists. The Spanish trade-unions and all the strong revolutionary parties remained obstinately anti-Communist.

"To a few veteran leaders of the Comintern still devoted to the ideal of world revolution, the fighting in Spain brought new hope. But these old revolutionists, survivors of the first bloody purge and the Kamenetz-Zinoviev 'trial,' were a tamed crew. All their barking produced no munitions, no tanks, no planes, none of the war supplies for which Madrid was clamoring, and with which the Fascist powers were supplying Franco.

Stalin Refuses Arms for Spain

"The revelations of Italian and German military aid to Franco, and the desperate appeals of the various Spanish revolutionary leaders for foreign help, brought no response from the Kremlin. The civil war in Spain developed into a huge conflagration, and still Stalin remained silent and motionless.

"Throughout Europe and America the Communists and their sympathizers were asking why the Soviet Union did nothing to help defend the Spanish revolution, for which they themselves were whipping up public opinion and begging contributions.

"Late in August, with Moscow's permission, three high officials of the Spanish republic secretly arrived in Odessa. They came to buy Soviet war supplies. They offered in exchange huge sums in Spanish gold. Instead of being permitted to reach Moscow, they were kept quietly in a hotel in Odessa.

"On Friday, August 28, 1936 Stalin issued a decree through the Commissar for Foreign Trade, forbidding 'the export, re-export, or transit to Spain of all kinds of arms, munitions, war materials, airplanes and warships.'

"This official Soviet decree was in harmony with Blum's nonintervention policy. It roused sharp criticism from all the groups in western Europe and in America, where the Comintern was trying frantically to whip up sympathy for the desperate Spanish republic.

Finally Acts—For Anglo-French Pact

"In September at an extraordinary session of the Politbureau Stalin argued that the old Spain was gone and that the new Spain could not stand alone. It must join either the camp of Italy and Germany, or the camp of their opponents. Stalin said that neither France nor Great Britain could possibly allow Spain, which commands the entrance to the Mediterranean, to be controlled by Rome and Berlin. A friendly Spain was vital to Paris and London. Stalin was of the opinion that he could create in Spain a regime controlled by Moscow. With Spain in his pocket, he could command a genuine and durable alliance with France and the British Empire. At the same time, his intervention would rekindle the faith of the Soviet adherents abroad, shaken by his purge of the Bolshevik old guard.

"There was also the hoard of gold in Spain, \$700,000,000, which the Caballero government was willing to spend for war materials. How much of this gold could be transported to Russia in payment for munitions delivered in Spain, while the Soviet Union officially adhered to its announced policy of strict non-intervention, was a problem to be looked into without delay.

"The Politbureau decided upon immediate action. Stalin doubly cautioned his commissars that Soviet aid to Spain must be handled with absolute secrecy, in order to eliminate any possibility of involving his government in war. His last phrase, carried away by those who were present at that Politbureau meeting and passed down as a command to all high officers of the service, was: 'Stay out of range of artillery fire!'

Exporting the Ogpu to Spain

"At the same time, in Moscow, Stalin had instructed Yagoda, then chief of the Ogpu, to set up a branch of the Soviet secret police in Spain. . . . From Slutski, (chief of the Foreign Division of the Ogpu), I learned that a veteran officer of his department had been detailed to establish the Ogpu in Loyalist Spain. He was Nikolsky, alias Schwed, mission from the Ogpu. . . .

"One of the other decisions of this conference was to have the Ogpu police the movement of volunteers to Spain from every country. There is in the central committee of every Communist Party in the world one member who holds a secret commission from the Ogpu. . . .

"Stalin's success in seizing control and using Spain as a weapon with which to force an English-French alliance with the Soviet government depended upon his breaking the powerful anti-Communist opposition within the Loyalist camp. It was therefore essential to control the movement of these idealistic foreign volunteers to Spain, to prevent them from joining with the elements opposed to Stalin's policies and ambitions. . . .

begin to reach Loyalist Spain. The Soviet aid came in two streams. My organization used exclusively foreign vessels, mostly of Scandinavian registry. Captain Oulansky's 'private syndicate' in Odessa began by using Spanish boats, but their number was limited. Moscow, held by Stalin's insistence on absolute secrecy because of his fear of becoming entangled in a war, would not permit the use of Soviet ships sailing under Soviet papers, especially after submarines and trawlers in the Mediterranean began to attack and seize freighters bound for the Spanish coast. . . .

Arms Only for Stalin's Tools

"Throughout the world there was a cry of anguished fury at the merciless bombing of almost defenseless Madrid. My organization performed miracles to hasten the transport of the fifty pursuit planes and bombers. In mid-October a Norwegian boat was loaded with them.

"And then I received strict instructions from Moscow not to permit that boat to deliver its cargo in Barcelona. Under no circumstances were those planes to pass through Catalonia, which had its own government, very much like that of a sovereign state, in greater Spain. The government of Catalonia was dominated by revolutionists of anti-Stalinist persuasion. They were not trusted by Moscow, although they were then desperately holding one of the most vital sectors of the Loyalist front against fierce attacks from Franco's army.

"I was ordered to send the planes to Alicante. But that port was blockaded by Franco's vessels. The master of the ship made for Alicante, but had to turn back to save his ship. He attempted to head for Barcelona, and was prevented by my agent on board. In the meantime, Loyalist Spain was fighting desperately and was woefully short of planes. My agent on board permitted the ship to proceed to Marseilles.

No Russian Arms for Catalonia

"This fantastic development was part of Stalin's fierce but silent battle to gain complete control of the Loyalist government, a battle which went on behind the open theater of war. If Stalin was to make Spain a pawn in his game for a firm alliance with France and Great Britain, he must subdue all opposition in the Spanish republic. The spearhead of that opposition was in Catalonia. Stalin was determined to support with arms and main power only those groups in Spain which were ready to accept his leadership without reservation. He was resolved not to let the Catalonians lay hands on our planes, with which they might have won a military victory that would have increased their prestige and their political power in the republican ranks. . . .

"The Norwegian ship finally slipped through Franco's blockade and discharged its planes at Alicante. At the same time, other war supplies, including tanks and artillery, arrived from the Soviet Union. All of Loyalist Spain saw that tangible aid was actually coming from Soviet Russia. The republicans, socialists, anarchists and syndicalists had only theories and ideals to offer. The Communists were producing guns and planes to use against Franco. Soviet prestige soared. The jubilant Communists made the most of it. . . .

"General Ian Berzin (was) one of the two leading Soviet figures assigned by Stalin to pilot his intervention in Spain. The other was Arthur Stashevsky, officially Soviet trade envoy. They were the real mystery men of Moscow behind the scenes of the Spanish theater of war and their missions remained perfectly concealed while they gathered all the controls of the Spanish republican government into their hands. . . .

Moscow Appoints Miaja Supreme Chief

"Berzin insisted on the appointment of a commander in chief. This authority the republican government, supported by jealous parties and factions, was reluctant to establish. Berzin found a suitable candidate in Gen. Jose Miaja. . . .

"Stashevsky offered to take the Spanish gold to Soviet Russia, and to supply Madrid with arms and munitions in exchange. Through Negrin, he made the deal with Caballero's government. . . .

"In my conversations with Stashevsky in Barcelona, in November, Stalin's next moves in Spain were already cropping out. He made no secret to me of the fact that Juan Negrin would be the next head of the Madrid government. At that time, Caballero was universally regarded as the favorite of the Kremlin. But Stashevsky had already picked Negrin as his successor. . . .

"Dr. Juan Negrin . . . had all the makings of a politician. Though a professor, he was a man of affairs, with the outlook of a businessman. He was just the type to suit Stalin's policy of the Popular Front. Like General Miaja, he would make a good facade to show to Paris and London and Geneva. He would impress the outside world with the 'sanity' and 'propriety' of the Spanish republican cause, he would frighten nobody by revolutionary appeals. He had a Russian wife and, as a practical man, Doctor Negrin welcomed the purging of the Spanish 'uncontrollables' and 'troublemakers' by any hand, even Stalin's. . . .

"These things were discussed while I was in Barcelona, six months before the fall of the Caballero government. It took Stashevsky that long to bring it about. In the end, he accomplished it with the aid of an Ogpu plot in Barcelona. . . .

Slutski Organizes the Murder Gangs

"My comrade, Slutski, chief of the Foreign Division of the Ogpu, had been ordered especially from Moscow to set up a secret police system modeled on that of Russia. He arrived a day or two after my departure. The Ogpu was then blossoming out all over Loyalist territory, and concentrating on Catalonia, where the independent groups were strongest and where the real Trotskyists had their party headquarters. . . .

"They have good material over there," he told me, when he returned to Paris some weeks later, "but they lack experience. We cannot allow Spain to become a free preserve for all the anti-Soviet elements that have been flocking there from all over the world. After all, it is now our Spain, part of the Soviet front. We must make it solid for us. Who knows how many spies are among those volunteers? And as for the anarchists and Trotskyists, even though they are anti-Fascist soldiers, nevertheless they are our enemies. They are counter-revolutionists, and we have to root them out."

"Slutski had done a brilliant bit of work. The terror already, in December, 1936, was sweeping Madrid, Barcelona and Valencia. The Ogpu had established its own special prisons. It had its own tribunals and its squads of executioners. Its units carried out assassinations and kidnappings. It filled hidden dungeons and made flying raids. It was, of course, functioning independently of the Loyalist government; the Ministry of Justice had no author-

KREMLIN GANG ACTED IN SPAIN LIKE THE OVERLORDS OF A FOREIGN COLONY

ity over the Ogpu. The Ogpu was an empire within an empire; it was a power before which even some of the highest figures in the Caballero government trembled. The Soviet Union seemed to have encompassed Loyalist Spain as if it were already a Soviet possession.

Pravda Decrees the Murder of Nin

"(On December 17) in Moscow, Stalin's official mouthpiece, Pravda, openly proclaimed that the purge in Catalonia, already begun, 'will be conducted with the same energy with which it was conducted in the Soviet Union.' . . .

"The successful defense of Madrid with Soviet arms also gave the Ogpu new opportunities to extend its powers. Thousands were arrested, including many foreign volunteers who had come to fight Franco. Any criticism of methods, any unflattering opinion of the Stalin dictatorship in Soviet Russia, any association with men of heretical political beliefs, was regarded as treason. The Ogpu employed all the familiar means of extorting confessions and of summary executions. . . .

"There were countless disappearances. Some were kidnaped and taken to Soviet Russia. Others were assassinated in Spain. One of the most spectacular cases was that of Andres Nin, the leader of the revolutionary party of United Marxists (P.O.U.M.). Nin had once been a Trotskyist and, years before, had been active in the Comintern. With a group of his associates, Nin vanished from the prison where they had been confined by the Ogpu. Their bodies were found after a commission of British members of Parliament had come to Spain to investigate their disappearance. Another outstanding case was that of young Smillie, son of the famous British labor leader, Robert Smillie; he was killed in an Ogpu prison in Spain. . . .

Organizing to Overthrow Caballero

"Premier Caballero had no stomach for the Soviet terror which was decimating his own party and striking at his political allies. The autonomous government of Catalonia was resisting the Ogpu purge, tooth and nail, not without the blessings of Caballero. An internal crisis was ripening in Spain. . . .

"At this time I received instructions gradually to liquidate our work of purchasing and supplying war materials to Spain. Our aid was being dolled out deliberately in amounts just barely enough to be decisive on the battlefields. It was being used as a club over the head of Caballero. . . .

"To the Ogpu Stalin had assigned the task of carrying him over the top in Spain. This was revealed to me in a report from one of the leaders of the Russian anarchist group in Paris, who was a secret agent of the Ogpu. He had been sent to Barcelona, where, as a prominent anarchist, he enjoyed the confidence of the anarcho-syndicalists in the local government. His mission was to act as an agent provocateur, to incite the Catalonians to rash acts that would justify calling in the army as if to suppress a revolt behind the front. . . .

"Fighting Fascism"

"The fact is that the Barcelona outbreak was a conspiracy successfully carried off by the Ogpu. The fighting began with a raid led by Ogpu agents on the Telephone Exchange. Five days of bloodshed followed; five hundred persons were killed and more than one thousand wounded. . . .

"After the bloodshed in Barcelona, the Spanish Communists led by Diaz demanded the suppression of all other parties and of the trade-unions in Catalonia; the placing of newspapers, radio stations and meeting halls under Ogpu control, and the immediate and complete extinction of all anti-Stalinist movements throughout Loyalist territory. . . .

Stalin Abandons Spain to Franco

"At this time, in the summer of 1937, just when Stalin appeared to have achieved his goal in far-away Spain, Japan struck at China. . . .

"Simultaneously the Fascist powers became more and more aggressive in the west, Italy and Germany intervened openly on Franco's side. The military situation of the Spanish republic grew increasingly difficult. If Stalin were to capitalize on his achievements in Spain, he would have to give it the full measure of help needed to defeat Franco and his allies. More than ever, he did not want to risk a major war. His slogan from the beginning of that adventure had been, 'Stay out of the range of artillery fire.' This slogan became more imperative after Japan's invasion of China and its threats on the Siberian frontier. . . .

"The role of Stalin in Spain was now going into eclipse. Stalin had intervened there in the hope that he would, with the assistance of a vassal Spanish regime, build a bridge from Moscow to London and Paris. His maneuver failed. Leon Blum and Anthony Eden resigned. Paris and London adopted a more friendly attitude toward Franco. Gradually, during 1938, Stalin withdrew from the Spanish ring of action. All that he got out of his adventure was the Spanish gold. He had not succeeded in his main objective of steering the Soviet ship of state out of its isolation among the great powers of the world."

Rumor . . .

The rumor has risen from a whisper to a warble that Joseph Freeman, luminary of the Stalinist intellectual tribe and former editor of the tribal organ, The New Masses, is writing a book. Nothing new, it may be said, for not so long ago he wrote a book. Just the same, it is something new. His last book was an autobiographical comment on his life, both in its light and its lighter phases. Also, it was tailor-made to the order of the Central Committee of the Communist party. What's new this time is that the Central Committee doesn't know what J. F. is writing in his latest work, and won't like it when it finds out. For, (says the rumor) the coming book announces Mr. Freeman's renunciation of communism—he did that long ago in the columns of the New Masses—but of Stalinism as well. Do not imagine, however, that Mr. M. Gold and similars will be publicly embarrassed thereby. They will simply write the stereotyped caunty against Freeman that he used to write against others.



THE WINNERS!

This week we are glad to announce the results of our subscription drive for 1,000 new readers and those branches that have won the prizes we offered.

A grand total of 700 new subscriptions were obtained. We completed 70% of our quota. We're convinced that a lot better could have been done and will be done next time, but still, a lot of branches did very fine work and more than completed their quotas.

The following branches fulfilled their assigned quotas. Some of them went over the top. Youngstown, Austin, Boston, Houston, Berkeley, New Haven, Minneapolis, and Quakertown.

New York City obtained the largest number of subs with a grand total of 185.

And now, here are the four prize winners:

First prize to Minneapolis—a complete set of Lenin's writings.

Second prize to Boston—a complete set of Trotsky's writings.

Third and Fourth prizes to Youngstown and Quakertown branches, both of which will receive 1937 and 1938 bound volumes of the Socialist Appeal, plus a set of newsboy aprons for their street sales activity.

All prizes will be mailed out within a week. These four branches did a fine job and deserve the best wishes of the entire party.

Next time we'll aim at competing 100% of our sub quota!

THE BRANCHES AT WORK:

"We're breaking down Appeal resistance around here, so will you please increase our bundle order to 35 (10 more). Also, I'm putting in our order for 65 extra of the May Day issue."—Sara Turner, Y.P.S.L. agent of Berkeley, Calif.

John Murphy, who has resumed the control of Los Angeles literature department writes us: "We are hitting the streets regularly with the Appeal. I have obtained a few reliable guys and they will be my street salesmen."

"I am mobilizing every possible person for house to house sales on Sunday mornings, the old Red Sunday business. An attempt will be made to get regular readers in this way. The sub drive will be continued."

Appeal readers will be glad to learn that Chester Johnson, Minneapolis literature agent, has fully recovered from the vicious attack made upon him by the Stalinists. Comrade Johnson writes: "The real answer to the Stalinists on this thing must be to sell the Appeal by hundreds and thousands where we now only sell tens. We will take the necessary precautions which will enable us to go forward with such a program without suffering any more casualties."

Here's the list of subs obtained this week—the last week of our subscription drive:

NEW YORK CITY	11
California	8
Pennsylvania	6
Minneapolis	6
Los Angeles	5
Chicago	2
Texas	2
Detroit	2
Newark	1
Massachusetts	1
New York State	1
Foreign	1
Total	46

Bundle order increases have come from the Berkeley Y.P.S.L. and the St. Louis Y.P. branch—both of which have increased their bundle by 10 copies per issue.

We should have mentioned that John Murphy of Los Angeles has two able assistants in the person of Manny Fischer and Leon Hassell who devote their main activities towards taking care of all literature. John says that they're A-1 assistants!

MAY DAY APPEAL:

There are two weeks left to send in your May Day Greetings and order your extra bundle orders!

Articles on War Crisis Featured in New Int'l

The April issue of the New Internationalist is now on sale. The April number is of exceptional interest with respect to reviews and comments on the war crisis. The editors graphically pose the problem of the war danger. "The question is no longer: 'Will there be a New World Imperialist War?' but merely, 'Exactly when, and how, and with what lineup, will the war start?' And now that we are asked to give our lives for Democracy, it is well to understand what millions will be dying for."

A timely and significant article by Dwight Macdonald on the work of the Temporary National Economic Committee, better known as the Monopoly Committee, is an important feature of the current number.

George M. Whiteside of Kansas exposes the utopianism of the latest crack-pot scheme to solve capitalism's ills—the program of the so-called American Foundation for Abundance, the latest product of Oscar Ameringer and William Zeuch, late of the New Deal.

Zinoviev on War
Comrade Casanova, for several years a leading member of the Spanish section of the 4th International, but who managed to escape to France at the time of the fall of Catalonia, vividly portrays and explains "The Popular Front's Flight from Spain." The splen-

did series of articles on "Wars—Defensive and Aggressive" by Gregory Zinoviev is continued. This series has aroused great interest among all New Internationalist circles.

Jerry Pytlak presents a thorough-going study on "The Economics of Cotton Farming," the first of a series of articles on the agricultural problem. Charles Crompton contributes a thesis on the Jewish question.

Trotsky on Krupskaya
L. D. Trotsky writes on Krupskaya, Lenin's widow, who recently died. A letter by L. D. Trotsky on the Tasks in Spain—1936, is reprinted since time has fully vindicated the prognoses.

Jadunandan Sharma, a left wing socialist of India and leader of the peasants, describes some aspects of the peasant problem in India. William Morgan reviews the struggle for Irish Independence, now being renewed.

Other interesting articles complete one of the most splendid of all issues of the New Internationalist. Those who have not yet obtained this issue may still do so by writing to the business office of the magazine. Single copies are 20c. The subscription rate is \$2 per year.

Address: The New Internationalist, 116 University Place, New York, N. Y.

ANNOUNCEMENTS ANTI-WAR STRIKE SET FOR APRIL 20

(Continued from Page 1)
students with Y.P.S.L. banners and torches. Uniformed units of the Y.P.S.L. will march in the demonstration. Ben Herman, City College student expelled for anti-war activity, who is now the Division Organizer for the Y.P.S.L. will speak at this meeting.

PENNY PARTY! Another rip-roaring swing fest Saturday, April 15, 8:30 P.M. Lower East Side Headquarters, 163 Norfolk Street. HOT music—games—songs—refreshments. Subscription: 21c.

BEER PARTY & DANCE: Saturday night, April 22 at 9 P.M. Greek Workers Center—167 W. 29th St. FREE BEER! Admission: Men 50c Ladies Free. Auspices: Progressive Cafeteria Workers.

MARXIST SCHOOL
"Fascism or Revolutionary Marxism, Which Way for the U. S.?"
A Lecture by MAX SHACHTMAN
Monday, April 17, 8:50 p.m. at Irving Plaza

Irving Pl. & 15th St., N.Y.C. Admission 25 cents

The key slogan for the anti-war actions is "Jobs not Guns." This will be stressed in the special "Anti-War Strike Action" bulletin which is being published by the Y.P.S.L. Student Committee.

Many prominent speakers including Max Shachtman, James Burnham, and Hal Draper are scheduled to address the city-wide anti-war strike actions.

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